1: Burrows--34 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 554, 245 Ifalik

"Bright young coconut leaf is often a symbol of success. A fishing party that has had exceptional luck may celebrate, and announce the good news, by putting on ubwūt as the canoe nears home. A man who has won the right to the title of sea-captain (paɬū) by successfully completing an inter-island voyage, may wear ubwūt ornaments as insignia of his new distinction."

1: Burrows--52 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 554 Ifalik

"A canoe, of all material possessions, brings most glory to its owner. And the building of canoes is beyond comparison the most highly developed craft in Ifalik. Anyone can build a little one; but the construction of that master-piece of Micronesian workmanship, a sea-going sailing canoe, requires the permission of the chiefs, and is entrusted only to recognized experts (sennap), who have learned their art by something like apprenticeship from another expert. During our stay, seven men were recognized as master-shipwrights. The honor accorded this title is exceeded by only two others: that of hereditary chief, and that of navigator (palū), who can pilot one of these canoes to other islands."

1: Burrows--65 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 505, 554 Ifalik

"An accredited navigator is called palū. They are rather vaguely divided into two classes, palū e lap, great captains, and palū gitigit, lesser captains. There is no formal procedure for conferring such a title, but a man is generally recognized as a palū when he has successfully taken a canoe on a round trip to another island. He will not try this until he has studied the lore of navigation with an accredited navigator, and taken several trips as a member of the crew.

There were six recognized palū on Ifalik during our stay: Totogoeiti (Tom); Magaleisei, Tom's brother; Iregemar; GauaisIg, an old man; and the chief Paliuilimar, who died during our stay, was said by Tom to rank lower than the others. He was definitely a palū gitigit. But of them all Tom was apparently the only one likely to be called palū e lap. In addition to these, several others had made some progress in the art, without yet being recogn[illegible]d as palū.

The position of palū is the most honored one a man can attain by his own merit and effort. The palū is higher in general esteem than the sennap or canoe carpenter; higher also than the tau bwongbwong or oracle of the gods. He is outranked only by the chiefs; and chieftainship, being hereditary, is an ascribed status, while recognition as navigator is achieved. But the title of palū does not confer any tangible advantages, or any precedence except aboard a sailing canoe or in conversations about seafaring."

1: Burrows--200 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 554, 622 Ifalik

"The sentiment of rank is another that kept cropping up in the preceding pages. In the chapter on Social Structure it was evident in the order of rank of the clans; in that on Government, in the order of rank of the chiefs, whose titles confer rank on their clans. Rank may be called the mainstay of the native system of government. It is emphasized in the richest visible symbolism found in the culture, culminating in the front post (ʻongarIk) of the men's house, Katēlū. The public meetings, in addition to their practical functions, serve as rituals to emphasize the dignity of the chiefs and the duty of loyalty to them. One of the strictures apparently common in the chiefs' harangues on these occasions--'Don't talk disparagingly about the people of another clan'--shows how this sentiment can become invidious. There would be no need to forbid such talk if there was none of it."

1: Burrows--200-201 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 554, 771 Ifalik

"Rank figures less prominently in religion than the other sentiments discussed here. That may be because it is a center of less emotional [201] tension. Yet the opportunity to emphasize it afforded by communal rituals was not lost. The chiefs appointed the time for the ceremonies. During the proceedings they sat together, in a prominent position. When Gargeligar reported the admonitions of the god, he included praise of the chiefs and instructions to obey them."

"As already noted, even those who can not claim superiority in the local hierarchy of rank share the glory of outranking other islands. The main point of the legends about depopulation and repopulation of surrounding islands is, in Tom's words 'Ifalik more high.' The most conspicuous visible symbol on the island--the penis of Maur on the front post of the men's house, pointing arrogantly toward Woleai--is a reminder and re-emphasis of the traditional triumph of Ifalik over the neighboring atoll.

The continuing vitality of this aspect of the sentiment of rank was shown by the flurry that attended Spiro's chance remark about the presence of Americans on other islands, doing the same kind of work that we were doing on Ifalik. Without any suggestion from us--at least none that we were aware of--this situation was interpreted as a contest among the islands staged by the Americans. The winning islands would rise in rank, the losing ones would sink. The main thing the Americans wanted of them, so far as the people knew, was cleanliness. This seems to have been the motivation for the first public meeting held during our stay, and the clean-up of the atoll that followed.

Application of the sentiment of rank to Ifalik's acknowledged subordination to Yap, and to the United States, has been considered in the chapter on Foreign Relations. The people seem to 'know their place' and accept it. With regard to Yap, indeed, grumbling is not unknown, as in the song about a hurricane. Another way of getting back at the Yap people, psychologically, for their superior position, may be the prevalent doctrine that Yap men are great liars. The word garpar, name of the village on Yap where the

overlords of Ifalik live, is used as a verb, meaning 'to lie'. We did not hear grumbling about the Americans--of course, we wouldn't. No doubt the people would take satisfaction in ridiculing any stupid or clumsy behavior on the part of Americans; but we saw no instance of this. What we did see was on the other, the positive side. One of the high points of interest in the conversations about the outside world with youths in the canoe-houses was the relative military strength of the world powers. The youths--and at times their elders, too--seemed to revel in our accounts of the size and strength of the United States. Apparently they felt that, belonging in some sense to the American commonwealth, they could share in the glory--or rank--conferred by membership in that mighty nation."

1: Burrows--201-202 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 554, 157 Ifalik

"The positive value of the sentiment of rank, for those whose position is relatively high, is obvious: the satisfaction afforded by a feeling of superiority. This corresponds to the Thomas-Znaniecki wish for recognition. The negative value, for those whose position is low, is of course humiliation or a sense of inferiority.

As individual rank is so largely settled by birth, a man can not do much to improve his position. Most of those of rather humble status seemed content with their lot. Presumably Spiro will penetrate into this matter farther than I can. But even the foregoing account, focussed as it is on formal, shared patterns of behavior, has repeatedly shown how two individuals were driven by craving for a higher position than their genealogies [202] allowed them. They are the two most prominent individuals on the atoll, in our eyes, except for the chiefs; and there is some doubt about even that exception--namely, Tom and Gargeligar. Though the writer is by no means qualified to diagnose a neurosis, he can not help pointing out how the behavior of these two resembles the standard picture of an inferiority complex."

1: Burrows--202
116, 554, 578, 159

(1947-48)

Woleaians 1-2
Ifalik

"Tom had taken the principal way left open in this culture for gaining status, by making himself the leading navigator of the island; and the other, related way, as well, by becoming a master-builder of canoes. But obviously that was not enough for him. His grumbling about the monopoly on turtle meat possessed by Kovalũ clan--the only one that outranked his own--is one instance. Several examples have been given of how he seized upon any chance to gain more glory, --notably the incident of getting his name, along with those of the chiefs, on the board to be hung on the front post of the men's house.

Gargeligar had taken the alternative way of making himself the master of ritual and chief spokesman of the most active of the gods. It is even possible that some of the prominence of this god was his doing. He showed his insatiable ambition even more naively than Tom did. Not only was he the most prominent figure on all ceremonial occasions--an eminence that was his due--but during all communal tasks in which he took part, his voice rose louder and longer than any of the rest.

Both men overdid it, and made themselves somewhat ridiculous. Tom's comment on Gargeligar, if discounted for jealousy, expressed a feeling that seemed general. 'Big mouth--big talk', Tom often said of this rival of his; and once; 'He savvy god--no savvy nothing else.' While work was going on, people seemed to pay little attention to Gargeligar's vehement flow of talk, unless to be amused by it. For that matter, Gargeligar accepted to some extent the role of clown. It was Tom who overstepped the

limits of his position more objectionably and was more distinctly rebuked. The chiefs' decision, after Tom had got his name on the board, that it should be hung up only when a foreign ship was in port, quietly but decisively put him in his place."

28: Spiro--11 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 186, 554 Ifalik

"The people are very proud and jealous of their prestige, would often remind me of it. One evening, for example, while talking with a young married man usually ungiven to bravado of any kind, he bragged of Ifaluk superiority, and of the deferential treatment accorded to an Ifalukian who visited another island.

This consciousness of rank extends to their relationship with the outside world as well. As a matter of fact, I first became aware of the importance of rank by an incident that betrayed the people's concern with maintaining their high position in the eyes of the Americans. One evening, while talking with a number of men about what we intended to do during our stay, I mentioned that other islands were being studied by other anthropologists. The men responded as a man: that means that they will have to cooperate with us to the fullest, lest the other anthropologists receive better cooperation, submit superior reports, and then Ifaluk would be 'more down.' The men immediately told Tom, our interpreter, to pass this information to the chiefs, and the next day a special meeting of the entire island was convened by the chiefs, and the people instructed to carry out all our demands."

28: Spiro--18 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 681, 622, 182, 554 Ifalik

"As in most primitive societies shame and social censureship are the greatest deterrants to immorality. This is particularly true on Ifaluk, where there are no supernatural sanctions. But the ultimate sanctions for moral behavior are the chiefs. It is their approval or disapproval that motivates much of the Ifalukian interpersonal relationships. And this role is felt very consciously by both the chiefs and the people. When discussing the subject of chieftanship, they informed me, that: 'Chief all same pappa this place.... If no chief, all same canoe have no people, canoe turn around. Place, too, by'n by turn around, people fight. Pappa talk to boy, maybe boy no like (i. e., won't obey), for only little bit afraid. But all people afraid chief. Chief work--talk. Chief no talk to people, tell them what they do, all same ship break.'

This is as accurate description of Ifaluk chieftanship as one could want. Besides this very interesting 'ship of state' idea, this statement displays a genuine insight into the real significance of the chiefs in this culture. That the statement reflects not only the chiefs conception of themselves, but also the conception the people have of them, is brought out clearly in the Stewart Emotional Response and Moral Ideology tests, in which the people maintain that they are afraid to be indolent, to steal, or to fight lest they incur the wrath of the chiefs; and conversely, that they are good, generous, etc., because this pleases the chiefs.

This role of being the ultimate sanctioners of the cultural values is very interesting in view of their lack of any punitive power. There are neither police nor prisons on Ifaluk to enforce the mores or punish violations of them. It is true that a murderer or incorrigible thief can be punished by the chiefs by banishment and/or confiscation of property, but such punitive powers must rest on the consent of the people, since they have no physical power to enforce these punishments. What is even more significant is the fact that the mere disapproval of some behavior by the chiefs acts as a sufficient deterrent, and that their approval is one of the strongest motivations for culturally approved behavior."

28: Spiro--18-19
116, 182, 554, 622

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Further reflection on the nature of Ifaluk society makes us pause even longer over this phenomenon. In theocratic societies, or in societies in which the ruler enjoys divine or magical rights or protection, it is understandable that his demands should be respected. But no such concept of supernatural power or protection obtains in Ifaluk. The chief is a man among men, who happens, it is true, to descend [19] from a particular lineage. Add to this the objective fact of the smallness of the island, in which the child knows everyone from the moment that he begins to perceive and distinguish objects, and every one knows every one else as intimately as one person can know another. These people grow up together, they plan and work together and learn very soon the virtues and vices, abilities and foibles of their fellows. Now the chiefs grow up as part of this process. In huge empires the prince lives apart from the commoners, he grows to adulthood in the court, where few people can know him, so that he can maintain the aura of magical greatness. But on Ifaluk this is impossible. The chief is remembered by practically all of the people, as that young foolish kid, who would never obey his parents, or as my friend with whom I participated in a number of pranks, who is a poor fisherman, or inept carpenter. And suddenly he is thrust into the position of authority, at which time he not only receives the respect of his fellows, but becomes the ultimate sanction of their good behavior. This is indeed a perplexing question, and one to which

we shall return in our discussion of Ifaluk personality and psychology.

The people accept the chief's authority without question. One afternoon I asked a group of men why they obeyed the chiefs. This was obviously a very perplexing question for them. Apparently it had never been articulated before. Obedience to the chiefs is just accepted as part of the natural order of things. After stating the question in a number of different ways, I could get only the stock answer: 'We don't know. Before, before, all the same now.' That is, this is part of our tradition, and inheritance from the past, and we accept it. As we continued the discussion, other points were made, however. 'Suppose no have chief, all people fool. (If) chief see people very bad, he tell them "You no make that. No my talk I talk to you, talk before, talk my house, my place." If another man come, see no chief, very bad.'

What is said in this statement is that the chiefs are the ultimate guarantors of the culture, and its values. If there were no chiefs, the people would be 'fools', or 'make bad', that is, they would violate the mores, and the culture would disintegrate. The presence of the chiefs prevents the people from such violation. For, 'If people talk, no somebody afraid. Chief talk, all people afraid.' That is, the people accept the authority of the chiefs, and abide by their reprimands if they commit a wrong. But a reprimand from another would have little effect, because they fear only the chiefs."

"When asked why the chiefs elicit this obedience, and no one else, the answer is immediate--because their lineages are 'more high.' This superiority of descent is accepted implicitly. It is not the person is personally superior, has greater ability or knowledge, but that he is descended from the 'royal family.' The obedience, then, is to the status, not the individual. When I asked, for example, how they felt about obeying a young chief, whom they had ordered around when he was a boy, and who now is their superior, though they probably have greater skills and knowledge than he, they expressed surprise. Why not? Isn't he a member of the lineage of chiefs?

No person could remember one instance of disobedience of a chief. 'Men afraid that chief. (If) one man no like talk for chief, very bad man. All people no like. Why he no like talk for chief?'

I might illustrate this point by one incident in which we were involved. One morning Tom, our interpreter, came to us saying that he would not work with us for a few days since the canoe, that he was building with the assistance of some other man, was not being completed rapidly enough because the other men were not indiligent [sic] in their work, and that he would have to devote more time to the work. Later in the day, he came to me, saying that the chiefs had heard of his not working with [20] us and were angry with him. I told him that I wanted him to complete his work as soon as possible and that

both Dr. Burrows and I would rather he worked on his canoe for a few days. But he looked at me very contritely, and in a very pathetic voice, he answered that the chiefs are 'too angry at me', and therefore he was afraid to work on his canoe because he was afraid of the chiefs. Now this is from a man who had lived in Manilla for four years, who was descended from a chiefly lineage himself, and was next in line for a chieftanship, and who often decried the chiefs to me, impugning their abilities, and calling them 'fool fellows' because they had not had the experiences that he had had."

"As I have pointed out above, informality characterizes the relationship between chiefs and people, there being no overt symbol that might distinguish one from the other to a stranger. The chiefs assume the same economic obligations that the other men have. They participate in communal clean-ups, fishing expeditions, building repairs, and all other work, working with the other men, with no special dispensations of any kind.

Socially, they receive no special recognitions. They are addressed by name, as any other man. When sitting in the canoe-house they occupy no special seat of honor, nor is their arrival or departure signaled by special courtesy. In conversation their opinions are given no greater weight than those of a commoner.' Nor are they treated with any special respect or deference. For example, Dr. Burrows administered anti-dysentary shots to five men when we first arrived, for a period of five days, one of the men being Wolptau. On some days, the men would come at least an hour after the arrival of Wolptau (he was on time, they were late), and he waited till the others came; he not complaining, they not apologizing for having kept him waiting.

Nor do the chiefs attempt to keep themselves aloof from the people. This cameraderie is carried to the extent of Maroligar, the second ranking chief, playing cards with the young men and small boys, and being kidded for making a foolish move.

But despite this informality, when they function ex cathedra, their word is law, and

obedience is immediate. When they sit in the canoe-house adjacent to the fanap, conducting a meeting, no one will enter uninvited, or else will enter through the rear, so as not to intrude upon them in an obtrusive fashion. Furthermore, the entire plot of ground, Atelu, referred to above, is the property of the chiefs, and symolizes the chiefly office (or the government, to use an abstraction foreign to native modes of thinking), so that the village path that traverses the island skirts this section, and unless a person is going to Atelu itself, he will take this circumscribed route. Furthermore, when a person passes Atelu, he pays his respect by bending his entire trunk his hands clasped behind his back. This motor behavior becomes entirely automatic, as it is already inculcated even in the very young children.

The chiefs, also, receive special seats of honor at all religious ceremonies, and no ceremony begins in their absence. Furthermore, mourning at the death of a chief [25] is more extensive than for that of a commoner. On the other hand, as far as I could determine, no special rite commemorates a chief's taking office. His successor merely assumes his responsibilities, and begins to function with no ceremony of coronation."

28: Spiro--25 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 622, 554, 157 Ifalik

"The most important function served by the chiefs we may conclude, is that of cultural or ethical fathers. It is to the chiefs that the people look for the source of their basic values and for their sanctions and validations. The chiefs, recognize this role, and behave towards their people in a paternal manner. This interpretation comes out very beautifully in the following incidental statement by Tom. I had been collecting folklore from the chiefs, and after finishing the mythology, they told me some stories about some 'fool fellows', Ifalukians, who had responded to certain situations in a very foolish manner. The chiefs told me that I was to keep these stories secret, since the people did not know them, and they preferred that they not be told. I asked them the reason for this secrecy, and they answered that the people would laugh at these foolish acts, and would be ashamed that their own people had committed such stupidities. Tom then added that the chiefs would not laugh or be ashamed, since they are 'all same pappa this place,' and thus would treat them as a parent might treat some ontoward act of his child."

28: Spiro--137 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 888, 561, 554 Ifalik

"As far as I can determine age brings neither greater nor less prestige. It is true that the old are not as economically useful as the young but it seems that the subsistence is plentiful enough so that their relative economic inactivity is not viewed as a drag on the economy. On the other hand, their greater age is not, ipso facto, an indication of greater wisdom. A wise person retains his wisdom as he ages. A mediocre person is no wiser because of age. Formally, therefore, there seems to be little if any cultural evaluation placed on old age. It must be remembered, furthermore, that this is an egalitarian society, in which general statuses are about equal, and in which only specific statuses differ. This is, the status of a navigator or carpenter, or fisherman is higher than others, which are about equal. Differential status, therefore, is almost always a function of achievement in a specific activity. This being the case, the status continues into old age.

At no time did I see the slightest indication of resentment against an older person because of inability to perform certain tasks.

On the other hand, though the culture does not evaluate age in terms of any invidious distinctions, the aging person may very well experience the process of aging as more or less pleasant than youth. In speaking with the men, they said that the reactions to old age are not the same. An old man usually cannot marry a young girl, he cannot engage in many kinds of work, the Japanese would not hire him for labor, and thus he could make no money. On the other hand, the old man has prestige and respect, and young people will turn to them for advice, since they 'savvy many thing.'"